

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SAN SA 04380 250042Z

62

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 PC-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 /072 W

----- 005559

O 242305Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9438

INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA

AMEMBASSY MANAGUA

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE

AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA IMMEDIATE

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAN SALVADOR 4380

USCINCSO FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PBOR PINT ES HO

SUBJ: HONDURAS-EL SALVADOR SITUATION

REF: (A) S.S. 4289; (B) S.S. 4116; (C) S.S. 4115

1. SUMMARY: IN CALL ON FONMIN BORGONOVO OCTOBER 24, HE REVEALED CONCLUSIONS OF GOES INTRA-GOVERNMENTAL TECHNICAL COMMITTEE (ITC) ON HONDURAN PROPOSAL TO RESUME FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS TO RESOLVE LONG-STANDING BILATERAL DISPUTE. ITC BELIVED THAT GOH WAS EMBARKED ON GRAND STRATEGY TO MAKE INTERNATIONAL OPINION BELIEVE THAT EL SALVADOR DID NOT RPT NOT DESIRE A SETTLEMENT AND WAS BENT ON AGGRESSIVE GOALS VIS-A-VIS HONDURAS. THIS WAS DESIGNED TO AROUSE MORAL AND POLITICAL PRESSURES ON EL SALVADOR TO ACEPT ARBITRATION OR ADJUDICATION. ACCORDING TO ITC, GOH WAS WELL AWARE THAT GALVEZ'S LATEST PROPOSAL WOULD BE UNACCEPT-ABLE TO GOES AND PRESENTED IT AS PLOY IN EXPECTATION THAT REJECTION WOULD SERVE TO DISCREDIT GOES AND STRENGTHEN HONDURAN POSITION. THEREFORE, GOES NOW HAD TO COME UP WITH PLAN TO TURN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SAN SA 04380 250042Z

DOWN HONDURAN PROPOSAL BUT TO DO IT WITHOUT CONTRIBUTING TO GOH

STRATEGY. WE INFORMED BORGONOVO THAT WE HAD NO RPT NO EVIDENCE THAT GOH HAD ADOPTED SUCH STRATEGY; AND SUGGESTED THAT IF GOES, INDEED, MUST REJECT HONDURAN PROPOSAL THAT IT PRESENT VIABLE COUNTER PROPOSAL TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS EXPECTED THAT CHIEF OF STATE MOLINA AND MELGAR WILL ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY THEIR GOVERNMENTS RESPECTIVE MOTIVES AND POSITIONS AT THE GUATEMALAN SUMMIT NEXT WEEK. END SUMMARY

2. DCM AND I CALLED ON FONMIN BORGONOVO OCTOBER 24 TO ASCERTAIN STATUS OF GOES CONSIDERATION OF HONDURAN FONMIN GALVEZ'S PROPOSAL TO RESUME FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS TO SETTLE THEIR BILATERAL DISPUTE. BORGONOVO PERMITTED US TO READ AN ADVANCED DRAFT OF A MEMORANDUM FROM HIM TO PRESIDENT MOLINA INCORPORATING A BACKGROUND ANALYSIS OF THE GOES INTRA-GOVERNMENTAL TECHNICAL COMMITTEE (ITC) REGARDING HONDURAN MOTIVES AND STRATEGY WHICH IT PRESUMED MOTIVATED THE GALVEZ PROPOSAL. HE DESCRIBED THIS DRAFT AS A MORE SUBDUED AND LESS EMOTIONAL VERSION OF THE ORIGINAL PAPER. IN ESSENCE, THE ARGUMENT IN IT WAS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS THE GOH HAD EMBARKED ON A PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN TO CONVINCE INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION THAT THE GOES DID NOT DESIRE SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE AND HAD AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS TOWARD HONDURAS. AS EVIDENCE OF THIS, THEY CITED THE PLETHORA OF NEWSPAPER AND RADIO STORIES IN HONDURAN MEDIA WHICH UNFOUNDEDLY, DISTORTEDLY AND FREQUENTLY REPORTED SALVADORAN CAMPESINO INVASIONS OF HONDURAN TERRITORY, AND SALVADORAN TROOP REINFORCEMENTS; AND CHARACTERIZED SALVADOR'S MODERNIZATION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AS EXCESSIVE REARMAMENT WITH HOSTILE INTENTIONS.

(B) DESPITE DEFINITE COMMITMENTS BY MELGAR AT SUMMIT MEETINGS AT NICRAGUA AND COSTA RICA AND AT THE MEETING WITH MOLINA T EL POY TO AVOID APPEALS TO THE OAS AND TO ENGAGE IN DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AT CHEIF OF STATE OR FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL, MELGAR AND GALVEZ HAVE AVOIDED THE OVERTURES OF THEIR COUNTERPARTS ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS TO RESUME THE BILATERAL DIALOGUE, REFUSING EVEN TO RESPOND TO TELEPHONE CALLS. THE PRESENTATION OF THE GALVEZ PROPOSAL TO THE OAS COMMITTEE WITHOUT ANY ATTEMPT AT PRIOR BILATERAL SOUNDINGS WITH THE GOES WAS FINAL EVIDENCE THAT MELGAR HAD BROKEN HIS COMMITMENTS.

(C) AT THE TIME OF THE APPEARANCES OF GALVEZ AND BORGONOVO BEFORE THE OAS COMMITTEE OF SEVEN LAST MAY, GALVEZ HAD INFORMALLY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SAN SA 04380 250042Z

RAISED WITH BORGONOVO ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PROPOSAL HE FORMALLY PRESENTED ON OCTOBER 2 TO THAT COMMITTEE. BORGONOVO HAD TOLD HIM IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT IT WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOES AND PROPOSED, INSTEAD, A RETURN TO THE MEDIATION FORMULA HE WORKED OUT WITH BATRES WHICH GALVEZ REJECTED. THIS PREDATED THE THREE MEETINGS OF MELGAR AND MOLINA AND THE COMMITMENTS WHICH RESULTED. THE FACT THAT GALVEZ, NEVERTHELESS, RECENTLY INTROUDCED HIS PROPOSAL AND THE MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS DONE SUGGESTS THAT THE GOH REALLY

EXPECTS THE GOES TO REJECT IT.

(D) TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ALL OF THE FOREGOING, THE CONCLUSION IS THAT THE GOH HAS ADOPTED AND IS IMPLEMENTING A GRAND STRATEGY TO CONVINCE WORLD OPINION THAT EL SALVADOR DOES NOT WANT A SETTLEMENT BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND IS ARMING TO THE TEETH TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION BY FORCE. THE GOH EXPECTS TO AROUSE INTERNATIONAL INDIGNATION AGAINST THE GOES WITH RESULTING MORAL AND POLITICAL PRESSURES ON IT TO FORCE IT TO ACCEPT ARBITRATION OR ADJUDICATION OF THE DISPUTE.

3. AS TO THE GALVEZ PROPOSAL ITSELF, BORGONOVO CONFIRMED THAT IT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOES FOR THE REASONS HE HAD GIVEN GALVEZ LAST MAY, I.E., THE 1973 MEXICAN NEGOTIATIONS PRODUCED A STALEMATE ON THE BOUNDARY QUESTION AND THERE IS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THIS FORMULA CAN BE REVIVED WITH ANY REAL HOPE OF SUCCESS. FURTHERMORE, THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 9 CALLING FOR MANDATORY ACCEPTANCES BY THE PARTIES OF OAS COMMITTEE OF SEVEN RECOMMENDATIONS, IN CASE OF IMPASSE, LEAVES THE DOOR OPEN TO ARBITRATION OR ADJUDICATION WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOES. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE GOES NOW HAS THE DILEMMA OF REJECTING GALVEZ'S PROPOSAL BUT DOING SO WITHOUT PLAYING INTO HONDURAN HANDS.

4. WE TOLD HIM THAT WE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OR EVIDENCE THAT THE GOH HAD ADOPTED OR WAS PURSUING THE KING OF STRATEGY DESCRIBED IN HIS DRAFT MEMORANDUM. WE SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLEGED HONDURAN MEDIA CAMPAIGN WAS MORE OF A CHARACTERISTIC OF UNINHIBITED AND IRRESPONSIBLE JOURNALISM RATHER THAN GOH DIRECTION SINCE HONDURAN MEDIA HAS BEEN NOTABLY CRITICAL OF ITS OWN GOVERNMENT. WE ALSO SAID THAT WE WERE INCLINED TO ATTRIBUTE MELGAR'S ALLEGED BROKEN COMMITMENTS, RELUCTANCE TO COMMUNICATE, AND GALVEZ'S INITIATIVE TO THE TRANSITORY, INEFFECTUAL AND HAPHAZARD CONDITION OF THE HONDURAN GOVERNMENT. FINALLY, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SAN SA 04380 250042Z

WE SUGGESTED THAT IF THE GOEJ FEELS THAT IT MUST REJECT THE GALVEZ PROPOSAL THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO COMBINE ITS REJECTION WITH A VIABLE COUNTERPROPOSAL TO RENEW BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

6. BROGONOVO AGREED THAT IT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH DISPUTANTS TO FIND SOME FORMULA FOR SETTLEMENT AND TO KEEP THE MOMENTUM GOING. HE READILY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT, REGARDLESS OF HONDURAN MOTIVES, SENSATIONALIST PRESS REPORTS ABOUT POSSIBLE HOSTILITIES WOULD BE PREJUDICIAL TO THE INVESTMENT CLIMATE IN BOTH COUNTRIES AND HARMFUL FOR THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE PROGRESS OF CENTRAL AMERICAN INTEGRATION.

7. WE REFERRED TO THE NEXT CENTRAL AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL SUMMIT A WEEK FROM NOW IN GUATEMALA AND SUGGESTED THAT BORGONOVO'S DRAFT MIGHT BE DESIGNED TO HAVE MOLINA APPROACH MELGAR TO ASCERTAIN

HONDURAN MOTIVES AND DESIGNS AND TO ASSURE THE LATTER OF EL
SALVADOR'S INTENTIONS AND COMMITMENTS TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.
WE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THEM TO AGREE
TO PERFECT THEIR COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM AT ALL LEVELS TO PREVENT
MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO INCIDENTS OF HOSITLITY.
BORGONOVO THANKED US FOR OUR VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS WHICH HE
CHARACTERIZED AS HELPFUL TO HIM.
CAMPBELL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BOUNDARY CLAIMS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 OCT 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SANSAS04380
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750371-0432
From: SAN SALVADOR
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751019/aaaaaqxh.tel
Line Count: 177
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 SEP 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08 SEP 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <12 NOV 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HONDURAS-EL SALVADOR SITUATION
TAGS: PFOR, PBOR, PINT, ES, HO, (POHL BORGONOVO, MAURICIO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006